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H – 1034

International Court of Justice

Com. B
Take 3 - P. 1
Roberts
8 July 1946
1400 - 1530
Friedrich Klaehn

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF TESTIMONY FOR THE DEFENSE OF ORGANIZATIONS, TA KEN BEFORE A COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE ORDER OF THE TRIBUNAL DATED 13 March 1946.

8 July 1946

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COMMISSIONER:

Mr. I. D. McIlwraith

THE S. A.

The commission convened at 1400 hours.

Mr. Friedrich Klaehn, a witness, took the stand, was sworn and testified as follows:

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Dr.Aschenauer, this witness has been examined and cross examined, has he not?

DR. ASCHENAUER:

No, he has not been fully questioned yet and he has not been taken at all in the cross examination.

COL. GRIFFITH-JONES:

The position last time was that Dr. Aschenauer was putting to him various articles of the SA Mann and asking him questions on those articles. In order to save time it was suggested that the articles to which Dr. Aschenauer referred be translated and submitted as exhibits, to avoid the necessity of reading them at length. In addition it was arrnaged that Dr. Aschenauer and myself should see whether the prosecution was prepared to withdraw some of the exhibits that it prepared in 3050. After consideration, the prosecution felt that in general Exhibit 3050, which consists of extracts from the newspaper the "SA Mann," should stand with one or two exceptions about which Dr. Aschenauer was informed,

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and it therefore remains for Dr. Aschenauer to continue his examination, presumably making use of the documents which he is going to refer to and I imagine have now been translated.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Thank you. Dr. Aschenauer, will you continue?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

The articles on vital space have been withdrawn and I will not refer to them. In order to save time I am going to examine the articles on Versailles and on the Colonial problem and rectify the tendencies according to which those articles have been written. In the document of the prosecution 3050 PS, there are articles on the Versailles Treaty in connection with the prosecution charges, articles which are mentioned as articles of aggressive character. Here we see the following article of June 13, 1935 with the headline the Versailles Treaty. In this article it has been referred to only to a peaceful solution of the problem of the solution of the Treaty but not to any solution of an aggressive character.

BY COL GRIFFITH-JONES:

I do not want to interrupt too early in the proceedings, but Dr. Aschenauer is apparently adopting the same procedure which he did before to which I objected. That is to make statements himself which are really nothing but argument. With great respect, if the meaning of these articles is in issue then Dr. Aschenauer will have his opportunity for argument upon that matter later when the case for the defense of that organization is presented before the Tribunal. The purpose of these proceedings is to examine the witness and to obtain his evidence. With great respect to Dr. Aschenauer, I will submit that that is what he ought to confine himself to during the proceedings.

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BY THE COMMISSIONER:

I entirely agree. Dr. Aschenauer will you ask the witness questions in his capacity as Chief of the SA ~~Nuremberg~~ publications and confine yourself to questioning him on that basis?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I want to clarify one point before I go on. I got into contact with Col. Neave and Mr. Marreco and in order to save time I have asked whether I should be permitted to submit those articles, seven articles, and submit them here to the tribunal without previously submitting them to the witness. Col. Neave accepted this point under the provisions that the quotations should not be too long. It is under those conditions that I have started to examine those seven articles. Should, however, the prosecution submit the entire articles, all seven of them, in German, English or any other language which of course would mean a considerable saving of time, in that case I would not have examined the articles and in that case the prosecution should have translated some hundreds of articles. These two ways are possible and I ask the court to decide upon which way to take, but I must insist on the submitting of the full text of those volumes.

BY COL GRIFFITH-JONES:

What I am objecting to was Dr. Aschenauer starting to make a statement as to the contents of the article, which he is not entitled to do.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I am only bringing quotations before the court but I had to give a short summary in the beginning.

BY COL GRIFFITH-JONES:

That is what I object to. Any summary.

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BY THE COMMISSIONER:

You see Dr. Aschenauer, you are ~~putting words into~~ making statements which are argument. If you summarize what you say these articles mean, that is a matter of argument. Now if you will refer to your articles and then ask your witness his views, you ~~make~~ may go on.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I quite agree, but I will not ask any questions of the witness in connection with those articles.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Very well, you may proceed.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I quote now under the title from the Versailles Treaty, "Versailles Dictate", article of June 30, 1934, page 15, the following article: "It is only he who has not taken part in a new war who can play around with the waves of flame of this new war. On the Geneva Disarmament Conference, in their decision of December 12, 1932, England, France and Italy have substantially granted and formally accepted the equal rights of Germany in this respect. Even if it is true that on our side we do not have the power and the might but the right, and it is a very pleasing fact that this right is now being recognized by leading men of other nations in public." In the volume of 1935 of the SA Mann I rea d under the 19 January 1935 the following article, page 13, "Versailles after Fifteen Years - A peace which was not really a peace but which had led to a ~~perpetration~~ perpetuation of hatred between the people." In a special section of this article the editor examines howfar the process of dissolution of this dictate has gone on already and how far the permanent action of historic forces have entered this dictate. "Those forces which undermine and break down the building of the Versailles Treaty, it is a main factor of those forces which are ~~which~~ the political

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and economic positions between the victorious ~~parts.~~ parties. It is too right that Schwendenann can state that the battle for the revision of the Versailles Treaty 15 years after its coming into power has already sustained substantial advantages, those advantages are the freeing of the Rhineland and the diminishing of the war tributes . On the other hand the coming back of the Versailles Treaty is bound to come in a very short time."

In Tome 1937, article of January 30, 1937, pages 12 and 13, I quote: "The material for a permanent conflict which had been created for obvious reasons by the establishment of the Polish Corridor between Germany and Poland. This reason for conflicts was put aside and viewed by intelligent matters managed to foresee coming developments by the National Socialist Government of Germany. By declaration of January 26, ~~1934~~ 1934, according to which there should be direct negotiations from one state to the other during a period of ten years under direction of any measure of force by this declaration far-reaching dissensions in the German-Polish relations and the beginning of neighborly relations between both parties was achieved. On January 13, 1935, the people of Versailles voted with an overwhelming majority of 95½ % for the return to the German fatherland and so thus later reasons for conflicts between France and German was put out of the way. Rearmament, which had become effective in connection with the resumption of the German armament independence brought about the free agreement between Germany and the British Empire which led on June 18, 1935 to the Angb-German Naval Agreement which established ~~xx~~ and fixed the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ respective power of both parties in a reasonable proportion and which at the same time meant the first pass toward disarmament because of the idea of disarmament only in the sense of the idea then excludes a raise for rearmament."

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Last quotation on the theme of The Treaty of Versailles, article of February 13, 1937, page 4, under the title "Versailles is Being Liquidated", I quote: "The four years of planning will enable us and give us the power to maintain this economic sovereignty for the good of our people and for the best in the relations from one people to the other." Article on the Colonial problem, Tome 1936 of the SA Mann dated October 10, 1936, page 15, under the title "Our Right, Our Colonies", I quote: "In his proclamation at the Reichsflagge of the Oberland the Fuehrer has once again in public before all the world reaffirmed and given the reasons for the claims of the German right to hold colonies. Rights will always remain rights and even the whole world will come to the conclusion at a certain time that right has to be given effect." Extracts of the Chapter "What the World Says": "The former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Viscount Philip Snowden, declares 'Great Britain is by no means interested in resisting the German claims for colonies.' The Minister of Finance of the South African Union, Oswald Pirow, says: "In this way I may express the hope that Germany may soon become again a Colonial power and a Colonial power in Africa." Extracts from shadows of from the time of The Treaty of Versailles. I quote Col. Edward M. House: "Could this purpose not be stopped by returning to the enemy his former colonies?" Quoting the French officer Jean Finut: "If England would give an example of great self-sacrifice to the whole world." In Tome 1937 again of the SA Mann of January 2, 1937, page 4, I quote, under the title "Colonies for Germany": "The speech by Von Ribbentrop and the essay by Dr. Schacht have started again abroad a very vivid argument on the Colonial Problem and have brought it into the spotlight but there are voices of intelligent men who backed the German claims which they have recognized as being justified. Let us quote only two examples. A reader writes to the Editor of the London Times that the speech

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of Von Ribbentrop in the Anglo-German Fellowship Society should remind everybody that the so often brought up question of the German colonial claims should not be permanently set aside."

Article of December 18, 1937, page 7, under the title "Our Right to Colonies", I quote: "In these last months in all important countries of the world arguments or debates has been started as one sees on the German Colonial claims. It is the Fuehrer who has thought about the beginning of those arguments by his great speech on the Braden gerochen. It should be interesting now to hear the voices of some of the states which have taken part in the discussions, some of those states who administer our German colonies ~~mandates~~ under ~~from~~ former mandates. In these last days persons important politically, as Sarraut, have declared that should one want a European cooperation in the Black Africa one should give back to Germany the place that is owed to her as a great nation. Since a couple of weeks ago the Times publishes a certain number of letters from leading politicians which take opposition to the German Colonial claims. I'll now pass on to the questions.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

You have said you are not asking questions of the witness on these articles.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Yes, I have declared that but I will ask other questions.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

Q. Mr. Klaehn, why did you sponsor the ~~recruiting~~ publishing of "SA Mann"?

A. I have been in favor of this publication, the "SA Mann", on orders of the Chief of Staff because this publication was to become the intermediary between the Chief of Staff and the SA ~~Ma nn~~ man. The paper was meant originally for that purpose but we did not achieve this aim. It was just through an extensive recruiting and outspreading of this paper ~~under~~ the "SA Mann" that the

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Chief of Staff hoped to give a better reason for the importance of this paper. I have declared that the higher direction of the SA was not responsible for the publication of this paper but it meant to become responsible in order to give to the SA ~~Mann~~ directives according to which they could work, but the editors maintained their independence by all means while the Chiefs of the SA wanted to be responsible for a paper which was published in their name. Therefore, there were arguments in this direction which were not concluded at the beginning of the war. I mention only the question of instruction as a conflict. At recruiting the editors of the chief direction of the SA had granted as a sort of counter activity a page on instructions but before the Chiefs of the SA could print the material for this publication the editors brought already on their own responsibility pages on instruction of which they considered there was a general interest for that. But these things did not ~~xxxxx~~ coincide with the directives given by the upper direction of the SA. The editors brought such pages as rearming with motorcycles, a matter with which the direction of the SA had no concern. Or they brought reprints from half military publications which were to be ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ purchased in the book shops. These again were matters which were of no concern ~~of~~ to the SA direction. But the editors declared that these publications were read with much pleasure not only in the SA but in other circles.

Q. Why has there been propaganda in other papers for disarmament?

A. The propaganda material was sent by the editors automatically to all papers which were under the control of this publishing houses. The propaganda was meant for financial reasons.

Q. The prosecution submits as a proof for the terror, the article in the "SA Mann" on the 9th November 1923 under the title "Who has Executed in Nurnberg the Unlucky Attempt of a Putschon the 9 November 1923."?

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A. At that time the SA had not importance yet. The attempted pusch was made by the Reichsflagge and the Oberland. I have heard that repeated by eyewitnesses. Later on members of those organizations have, nearly ~~most~~ all of them, entered the SA and it may be for that reason that the author of that article either was a victim of a disillusion or meant to emphasize his own person by a description which was not in line with the actual facts. Especially as that article seems to have been published only 12 years after the events.

Q. Prosecution states that it had been the task of the SA to provoke an anti-Jewish feeling in the publication, a feeling without which the execution of those crimes could not have been possible. As proof for the careful and definite planning by the SA of those crimes, the prosecution has submitted the following documents: An article published on July 27, 1935 by Loeschke ~~Herbst~~, "Finished ~~was~~ with the Jews". Furthermore an article of February 2, 1935 "Jewish Threat to the World". Finally, an article published on July 20, 1935, under the title "Jewish Worries", which brings an argument of a Hans Peter Hermel against the Jewish family paper published on June 24, 1935. What can be said ~~to~~ about those articles?

A. Apart from the fact that the Chiefs of the SA were not responsible for those articles, the higher chiefs of the SA had on their own refused many of those articles because they did not fit in the frame of education and instruction for the SA. The Supreme Command of the SA has dealt with the Jewish problem only in so far as this problem ~~was~~ dealt with the party program and was regulated by laws and decrees. In this connection I have to emphasize that the Supreme Command of the SA has never been in favor of extermination of the Jews. We thought only that we were to fight against the influence and intervention of the Eastern Jews

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into our cultural life and economic system. Especially the influence of those Polish Jews who have entered Germany after 1920 and ~~which~~ who took advantage of the misery of the German people.

Q. Furthermore, the prosecution submits articles such as "Jews are not Wanted"; "God Saves the Jews", "The Face of the Jew, Negroes, Reactionaries and the Hidden Baryaim". Furthermore, articles of ~~the~~ Hermel, Rudolf, and others. In this connection I ask the following questions: ~~From~~ where those articles in favor ~~was the~~ in a wide circle of the SA?

A. I have already mentioned that the Supreme Command of the SA has several times opposed those articles as well as myself as the Chief at that time of the Instruction Section of the SA Oberfuehrer Von Neufeld and the chief at that time of the Reich Leader School of the SA, Dr. Bennecke, , and Chief of Instruction AMT of the Supreme Command of the SA Luyken. They had backed me in this opposition. Of course I can not recall all of the different articles but I know several of the authors as for instance, Van Rudolf, which is a pseudonym, ~~which~~ who is known as one of those authors who write freely many things and ~~which~~ who complete their knowledge from ~~xx~~ other books. Furthermore, I know Prof. Schwarz-Bostenetich, former professor of the University of Kiev, and ~~whose~~ his publication ~~of the~~ "Jews can not Claim Scientific Exactitude".

Q. The prosecution submits articles of the "SA Mann" and states that these articles have been meant to promote war. The following articles should be considered according to Document 3050 PS: "The Tank in the Main Countries", "Rearmament instead of Disarmament"; "The Tank with the Main Powers", "The Army of the Soviet Union"; "The Armies of Tomorrow"; "The Task of the French Fleet"; "The Red Peril in the East"; "Red Army of Today"; "Russia is Arming for the World War". In this connection I may ask you witness, do you know where those articles came from?

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A. As far as I have learned from the editors, those articles and the pictures have been taken from German and foreign newspapers and publications and in the larger part they come from German and foreign firms dealing with the sending of pictures. These were especially the Associated Press and firms connected with them. Their headlines were essentially brought into the picture by the editors themselves. Articles of ~~those~~ that character and similar character were to be found very easily and very often in Germany and foreign newspapers of that time.

Q. The prosecution submits the article "Red Imperialism Fixed." I'll hand this article over to you and ask you to establish whether it has anything to do with the European situation? The article is dated 19 June 1937.

A. This article deals with the Marching of the Red Army towards Northern China and the zone of Infantry. Therefore I ~~xxxxxx~~ declare that this article has nothing to do with the European situation.

Q. Has the material for this article come from the Associated Press too?

A. I have no reason to doubt that.

Q. Furthermore, the prosecution submits the following articles, in the volume of "SA Mann" of 1938: an article of January 26, 1938, page 30; a picture with the sub-title "Stalin Wants a World Revolution". We hope that the ~~file~~ fire will not cease because Rudenko has already smelt the roast." Is this material of foreign origin?

A. I think that it is of foreign origin too.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Have you many more questions, Dr. Aschenauer?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Oh yes. I think I'll take another hour and a half.

BY THE COMMISSIONER: ~~I think that~~ Then we will adjourn for ten minutes.

(Commission recessed at ~~X~~ 1520 hours)

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The Commission resumed at 1535 hours

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Q. Further, the Prosecution submits an article of 18 May 1935, Page 1, PS/~~3050~~, ~~xx~~ entitled, "Czech Terror and German Need in Czechoslovakia." I will show you this article in order to find out whether it contains an intention of aggression.

A. This is a factual report concerning the need of the Germans in Czechoslovakia. It tells of the fact that, in the Erzgebirge community, all children are undernourished. It shows statistics showing which illnesses have been caused by such misery. It ~~xxx~~ contains a sentence by the first finance minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Raschin; "The peace treaty has given us the right to establish our institutions as if no other nations were in existence." It is simply a report of German need in the Sudetenland.

Q. The Prosecution, in order to prove that the SA executed terror, submits the following articles. I am going to quote twelve headlines, and shall then ask you to examine four articles. "We Break the Red Terror", "Nocturnal Street Fight on the Czech Border", "Street Fight in Chemnitz", "Victorious SA against Sub-Humanity", "The Authority of the State", "SA Conquers Rastenburg", "Sturm 88 Repeats the Baptism of Fire", "Street Fight in ~~Xxxf~~ Pforzheim", "The SA Breaks the Red Terror", "The Bloody Sunday of Berlin", "West Prussia SA Breaks the Red Terror." I want you to examine four articles submitted by the Prosecution; first, "We Break the Red Terror." Whose terror is meant here?

A. This is a story about the red terror, and it states that there was an attack ~~x~~ by the Commune. This time it was the Red Guard who threw itself against us. Forty of our ~~xxx~~ hundred and ten comrades were heavily wounded. Last Sunday the Communists announced at a meeting in Wurzen that they would not permit any Fascists to enter the West of Leipaig. There would be a proletariat reaction in store on account of this provocation, so that the Nazis and the murderers would forget to come back; and there would be no more meetings. ~~The second article is the article cited by the Prosecution~~

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Q. The second article is the article ~~xigned~~ cited by the Prosecution entitled, "Fight on the Czech Border." Is that an article with an aggressive meaning? I mean, with aggressive intentions by the SA?

A. In Obern euschoeneberg, three of our members in the Allgemeine SS were thrown out. The audience--Communists, a great number of them--took an active part in it. Now three Party members and four SA members are being kept by force in a restaurant in our village. The red mass storms against ~~xkm~~ us with stones, sticks, knives, and blunt instruments.

Q. For the third article, I wish to submit "Street Fight in Chemnitz." A: This article describes the attack of the Reichsbanner ~~xf~~ on the SA.

Q: ~~xxxxxx~~ The last article is the one entitled ~~xxxxx~~ "Victorious SA."

A. The article reads, "Five hundred Marxists were present in the hall. They threw themselves at the small bunch of SA members with short knives and three-edged files; with beer ~~steins~~ bottles and chairs they pushed themselves at the SA men. Eight out of seventeen SA men are lying bleeding on the floor."

Q. Who instigated publishing these articles describing the terror of the Communist~~ix~~ Party of Germany?

A. These articles were not published by request of the supreme SA leadership. They were the result of a contest by the editorial office which, recalling the combat days of the SA, wanted to recall the SA, particularly after the events of 30 July 1934. But, considering the thousands of meetings which the SA organized without any fights, these few fights described were ~~running~~ a number which would lend themselves to generalization. Nevertheless, the content of this article is correct, for I know, on the basis of my own experience, that our political enemies were not interested in an intellectual discussion of political contradictions. I know by my own experience that the SA did not have any desire to put the discussions on a physical basis. It wanted to convince and gain the political enemies to its

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own point of view. It was, to a very large extent, successful in it. Of course, if SA men were attacked, they resisted.

Q. PS 2471, the document submitted by the Prosecution: "Substance and Tasks of the SA." I quote from it, "Our appreciation of the race problem has nothing to do with race hatred. A man who loves and esteems his own nation will not be able to deny his appreciation to other kinds and fashions." Did the supreme leadership of the SA live up to this saying by Lutze? Did it reject the race hatred against Judaism?

A. Not only on the basis of his saying; but Staff Chief Roehm and Staff Chief Lutze, both during speeches made at the Reichsfuehrerschule in Munich, stated that our attitude toward the Jews had nothing to do, per se, with race hatred.

Q. What was your concept of it?

A. We took the attitude that the Jewish problem in Germany would have to be solved legally and on the basis of the numerous clauses I mentioned before, that the anti-Semitism of the SA extended mainly to those who had immigrated from the East. As I heard, Germans of Jewish faith who were old settlers also shared in this attitude. I heard that the well-known professor Korfu also shared in this.

Q. The "SA Man" contains articles against the political Catholicism. Did the ideological training program contain points pertaining to the struggle against religion?

A. No; the supreme SA leadership carefully remained away from any struggle against the denominations. Both confessions were represented by a multitude of ministers in their lines. Numerous SA fuehrers and SA men were married in church. Masses and church services in the field took place, also consecration of the flags of the SA. There, ministers of both denominations officiated.

Q. The so-called "fight" publications of the supreme leadership are under attack by the Prosecution, since they allegedly propagated the fight against

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Judaism. I will ask you in this connection two questions: How large was the edition of the"fight"publications? Was there any objection submitted to the publication of these fight publications?

A. I must explain. The supreme SA leadership planned the publication of elementary matter for ideological training. The editorial staff of the "SA Man" was willing to cooperate in this plan, and it submitted a plan of its own of the "fight" publications. A comman plan was arranged with themes which corresponded to the training plan of the supreme SA leadership. The editorial board was supposed to assign the authors and to take care of the printing,while the supreme SA leadership was the responsible editor after having examined the publications. When the first publications were submitted to me in print, I found that the editorial board had not adhered to the common plan. On the contrary, it had checked themes which had been rejected by us previously. To be careful, the publisher had issued only very small editions--a matter of a few thousand copies. Due to the objections of the supreme SA leadership, these copies were not reprinted, and the rest--which had not been distributed as yet--were destroyed. Only a very few copies were distributed by the bookstores. The SA itself did not become acquainted with these fight publications. Among 1600 former SA men of the camp in Moosburg (I have circulated affidavit circular pertaining to these fight publications)--only two out of 1600 former SA men were acquainted with them. One of them was manager of a publishing house, and one of them was myself. These writings were neither known among the SA, nor were they used as training material. The publications which were planned by the SA leadership were not published before the outbreak of the war.

Q. The Prosecutions uses, to confirm its charges, a book by Ernst Beyer, entitled "The SA--History, Activity, and Organization of the Sturm Detachment of the Fuehrer and of the Supreme SA Leadership." The title contains the following words, "Edited by the man of the supreme SA leadership , Dr. Ernst Beyer,

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with a foreword by Victor Lutze." First, I shall ask you, how did this publication happen to originate? Second, I want to ask you whether this was an authoritative publication.

A. As far as I can recall, this was a dissertation for his Doctor's Degree. He submitted it to the Chief of Staff and, while doing so, he was able to get out of the Chief of Staff the preamble and the foreword. The Supreme SA Leadership examined the publication; there were no objections, but not much attention was paid to the publication. The publication was a private one; Beyer was responsible. I think it was an edition of ± 5,000 copies. I do not know anything about the distribution by the bookstores. It was not used in the ideological training courses.

Q. Pertaining to these "fight" publications, the Prosecution states: "The inciting philosophy was not limited alone to the members of the SA; ~~to~~ on the contrary, the members of the SA were propagating these ideas into the plans of the population." Were the books by Rosenberg, the master theories of Himmler, "Der Stuermer", and the "fight" publications the basis for ideological training?

A. The simple SA man did not understand the writings of Rosenberg. The SA man was to be educated to uncomplicated, concrete thinking. The writings of Rosenberg were not fit for that. As far as the SA had knowledge of the master race theory of Himmler, it was rejected; it did not correspond to the substance of the SA. "Der Stuermer" was not to a great extent used as a text by the SA; it was characterized as yellow journalism. The "fight" publications were not used by the SA.

Q. What, then, was the understanding of the supreme leadership of the SA of "ideological"?

A. We understood by "ideological" a sector of the training service. In the first place, it comprised education to community, then education to

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patriotism, education in a decent way of life, knowledge and following f of the Party program. The SA had ten to twelve hours annually at its disposal.

Q. What do the words "SA guarantor of the movement" mean?

A. The SA was to guarantee the inviolability of the permanence of the movement by the German men, from generation to generation, again and again to meet in their lines and learn to esteem each other and to overcome the old faults of the German people--class hatred and arrogance which is based on position. This was to be achieved by common service and by common experience.

Q. What material was chosen for the training?

A. The following were selected for the ideological training: First, the Nazi Party program, primarily in the realization of its sociological program; second, the German fatherland, its history, and and its achievements; third, the life of Hitler as an example; fourth, contemporary politics. As I said before, there were ten to twelve hours annually at their disposal. The program could be executed only approximately, particularly because simultaneously men 17 and 70 years old--university men and farmers, officers and artisans--had to be trained. Then the program was to be executed three times, one after the other, because the average attendance percentage was only 37%.

Q. What does the following mean? The fight against Marxism Marxist ideas is the basic task of the SA.

A. This basic idea always concerned the gaining of the people's community; but the people's community was decisively opposed to Marxism because it represented the class struggle theory. We, however, represent the socialism of the personal achievement.

Q. What does it mean, to fulfill life with National Socialist principles?

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A. We were of the opinion that everybody has to live according to an idea. For the SA man, this idea, firstly, was love for the fatherland, secondly, the realization of the principles that common weal comes before selfish profits. That is also true of the smallest details in daily life. The SA man was to be of assistance to his state and to his people everywhere, out of his own convictions.

Q. Were the people to become conscious of the ideological training?

A. The men were not supposed to become conscious that they were being trained ideologically, because mature men did not care very much to be trained. The training was to be so much a part of life that all events were to be assimilated by the conceptive powers of the SA man logically and harmoniously.

Q. If the "fight" publications were not an educational basis, why did one say "We expect the conrades to take notice of these articles and to see to it that they are distributed widely."?

COLONEL ORLOV: I believe that the witness should answer more briefly. We are here speaking of the crimes committed by the SA, and we are speaking praise of the SA.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I wish to call your attention to the fact that, up until now, I have only asked questions which emanated from documents submitted by the Prosecution. They are based 85% on the documents submitted by the Prosecution.

MR. McILWRAITH: Can't you make the witness answer as shortly as possible?

DR. ASCHENAUER: I am trying to be as brief as possible.

A. The editorial board wrote this preface on its own initiative. The supreme leadership of the SA had nothing to do with it.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q. The Prosecution alleges to have found that the SA was eagerly busy in propagating "Der Stuermer." As a proof, it submits a picture from the publication "The SA Man" which depicts an automobile. The passengers are SA

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men, and there is a band on the auto which reads "Read ~~Der Sie~~ 'Der Stuermer.'" Furthermore, there is a picture submitted by the Prosecution; this picture depicts a bunch of SA men sitting down, and again on the back there is a propaganda sign saying, "Read Der Stuermer." ~~What~~ What do you have to say to that?

A. The greater part of the SA rejected "Der Stuermer." The "Nordmark" ~~group~~ group prohibited soliciting subscriptions for ~~the~~ "Der Stuermer" because the paper was alleged to contradict the moral sense of the SA man. The pictures submitted can only be older shots from a time when every SA man still thought he was serving the cause in his individual way.

Q. The Prosecution uses Hitler's ~~"Mein~~ "Mein Kampf" as part of its exhibit. The ~~charges~~ charges read "This book was the basis of the training." What do you have to say to that?

A. The book did not form, in all parts, a basis for training. We only took out/of the book the National Socialist documents and reports about the life of Hitler. The material pertaining to exterior policies ~~was~~ was not used because they might have been, and were, subject to changes.

Q. Did Adolf Hitler, in issuing a directive/pertaining to his book, "Mein Kampf", to the Eher Verlag say that nothing was to be changed in the first ~~edition~~ edition (1925-1927), even though the text might be antiquated?

A. Yes. The publishing house informed me that they had received such a directive. The Fuehrer is also said to have stated to Ambassador Ponci, ~~in~~ in answer to a question, "I will not change my book. ~~It~~ It emanated from the humiliation of Versailles, and history will make the corrections."

Q. Does the book, "Mein Kampf", have obligatory and binding significance?

A. It is my opinion that the book could not be, in all of its parts, of binding and obligatory significance.

Q. Does the Organizations Book actually depict correctly the organizational

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structure of the Party or of the SA?

A. The book depicts a ~~xxxxx~~ desirable situation which was changing occasionally, and did change; but one tried to achieve this situation. As far as I know, it is not an official publication. It is official only for the Reichs organization leadership.

Q. What was the significance of the publication, "The SA Fuehrer" within the SA?

A. I am able to give exact information pertaining to this publication, since I myself founded it, and because I was its editor for years. My basic principle, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ and also that of the editorial staff, was the voicing of opinions of the SA leadership regarding the tasks and duties of the SA and also regarding questions pertaining to the execution of the service. Those were all questions which remained fluid until the outbreak of the war. After 30 June 1934, ~~1935~~, the SA had no visible concrete tasks. After the idea of Roehm had been destroyed. This publication was to serve the purpose of the SA leaders to discuss SA problems. The paper was a discussion publication.

MR. McILWRAITH: When was the "SA Fuehrer" founded?

WITNESS: ~~xxxxxxx~~ In the fall of 1935.

MR. McILWRAITH: And when was the witness editor of it?

WITNESS: Until 1939.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q. "The SA Fuehrer" enabled every SA fuehrer to voice his opinion without being tied down by official opinions?

A. The SA fuehrers used it to give each other official suggestions in order to clarify questions pertaining to their duties and their tasks.

Q. What reader circle did the "SA Fuehrer" have?

A. "The SA Fuehrer" was distributed down to the leaders of stuerme. It was an internal paper and destined only for the SA leaders. In April

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1939,only,a second edition was created, so that outsiders would be made aware of our work. This edition, however, omitted all articles of problematical content.

Q. Which articles are to be characterized as official?

A. Official articles are those which are published by the educational office or headed by the administrative central office. Articles signed by myself, only such as Luyken, could be considered semi-official. He was the chief of the central education office. And also articles signed by the chief of staff, himself. But these articles were not obligatory to anyone. All other articles signed by my initials,or not at all, were not official articles.

Q. Was this publication used for the training of SA leaders?

A. Yes, it also served this purpose. The first section contained articles and essays by leading Party members. The SA fuehrers were to be made aware of their point of view. The second section contained problematical essays pertaining to the duties of the SA. The third part contained articles pertaining to the execution of the service, with suggestions and ideas. The fourth section contained interesting articles pertaining to history and pre-history. The fifth section contained matters which the sturmfuehrer should know, pertaining to the sociological care of his men. Any SA fuehrer could become a contributor without paying any attention to his style of expression.

Q. Though this publication was an official one, it did not always reflect official opinion?

A. No; it could not, and did not want to, do so. Some discussions were included in the publication, some were left out. Most questions remained in abeyance; the letter was transferred to the competent offices most of the time.

Q. Did "The SA Fuehrer" also publish articles of military content?

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A. Not exactly military articles, but articles written by military men. Particularly in the area of education, there were certain points of contact. Frequently there were arguments here.

MR. McILWRAITH: The Commission has ruled that the hearing of each witness should not be more than three hours. The cross-examination of this witness must begin soon, if it is to be finished by five o'clock.

DR. ASCHENAUER: May I point out that exceptions are permissible. Before me there was always an exception. Considering that Dr. Best was cross-examined for a good four hours.

MR. McILWRAITH: That is no reason why this witness should take longer than three hours. You have today already taken about two and a half hours. When the witness was last heard, I don't know for how long he was heard, but the three hours are only extended by the Commissioner for good reason. I should be glad if you would finish this in about five minutes.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I want to point out that the SA has applied for the least number of witnesses. For this reason, I should condider it a limitation of the defense if no exception were made here.

MR. McILWRAITH: The number of witnesses you bring has nothing whatever to do with the time you take. You said you would need about an hour and a half when we had a recess. Now, can you finish in five minutes, or can you not?

DR. ASCHENAUER: I have five more questions.

MR. McILWRAITH: Well, can you shorten the answers; the answers are longer than necessary.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I can try to shorten them.

MR. McILWRAITH: Will you please continue.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q. Will you finish the answer to the question pertaining to certain articles of military content which are to be found in your paper.

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A. The problem arose pertaining to obedience. We presented the voluntary obedience because of conviction. The wehrmacht could not do anything with that.

Q. Your statements indicate that the publication, "The SA Fuehrer", did not serve warlike aims, and that the SA was not thinking of any aggressive war. How can you prove that?

A. The chief of staff and Hitler preached to us often enough regarding peace, and we believed it. In 1939, at a conference of chiefs of offices, the chief of staff, in response to a question, answered, "Nonsense; there will be no war." We also knew, from the peacetime structures of Hitler, that there was no war in view. We experienced, for instance, a naval treaty with England, and the Treaty of Munich--which we celebrated in the SA. If a war had been planned, the SA would have had to be trained in that way. That was not the case.

Q. You said that other papers, too, published articles with military content--not only "The SA Mann." Do you know of such newspapers?

A. I want to point to the"Kreuzzeitung", the "Jungdeutsche", "Friedericus", numerous magazines published by the former Boy Scout and hiking associations--all of which published such articles before 1939. "The NSKK Man" was publishing such articles.

Q. The Prosecution charges that"The SA Man" contained several articles pertaining to the Mounted SA--signed by a certain Ment. The Prosecution characterized such articles as war-inciting.

A. These articles were written by a former Austrian cavalry captain. We published them because the problem of the SA Riding Corps was still in abeyance, in order to initiate discussions. The articles were written very poorly, and very exaggeratedly, and they were only for the SA internally. To a great extent, they were accepted with humor;and they were characterized as something rather odd.

Q. I am at the end of my questions. I want to point, however, to the fact that I will have the articles pertaining to military sports discussed by the next witness.

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This declaration is already to be found in the records.

MR. McILWRAITH: Very well. Is there any cross-examination?

~~MR. MARECCO:~~ I have some questions, sir, but I shall not be more than five minutes.

lol. Jones

MR. McILWRAITH: Would you like to finish them today?

lol Jones

~~MR. MARECCO:~~ Yes.

~~MR. McILWRAITH:~~

~~BY MR. MARECCO:~~ By lol. Jones

Q. Who was the publisher of "The SA Man"?

A. Zentralverlag.

Q. That was the official publishing house of the Party, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Under the title, "The SA Man", was written "the official publication of the SA." That is so, is it not?

A. That was the intention, but it wasn't so in practice.

Q. How do you account for the presence of those words, if it wasn't so in fact?

A. When this paper was established, the intention was to make it an official one, but, because the editor was not a member of the SA leadership, and was not paid by the SA leadership--but by the publishing house--it developed into a paper not belonging to the SA.

Q. You have told us that the SA leadership was constantly striving to obtain control of "The SA Man", and that they never succeeded in doing so.

A. They did not succeed.

Q. In those circumstances, why did the SA leadership allow the words, "the official publication..." to continue being printed on issues of the paper?

A. It wanted to acquire possession of the paper, and if it would have put pressure on it so that this disappeared, the paper would have died immediately.

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Q. Didn't Lutze object to this continuous expression of unofficial views under the word "official"?

A. Yes; Lutze expressed that to me and higher officials of the SA leaders.

Q. Then why didn't he take steps either to stop publication entirely, or to withdraw official patronage from it?

A. The paper had originaged under the most difficult circumstances. Hitler at the time did not agree to it. If the chief of staff had said that he did not wish to have the paper appear in such and such a form, Hitler would have said the SA would be without a paper altogether. They were always looking for a reason to do away with the paper.

Q. Wouldn't that have been better than a continuous misrepresentation of SA policy throughout the yearw?

A. Yes; we always tried, and always hoped, to get the paper.

Q. You say Hitler eventually closed the paper down himself. So, clearly, Hitler was willing that the paper should be closed down. Why didn't Lutze do it earlier, if he considered that the editor of the paper was misrepresenting SA policy?

A. It was the only opportunity for the supreme SA leadership and the SA man to talk directly.

Q. I want to ask you two or three questions about "The SA Fuehrer." You told us that you started "The SA Fuehrer" in 1935 as a volume for the discussion by senior SA officers on matters of common interest.

A. Yes.

Q. May I take it, then, that, unlike "The SA Man", "The SA Fuehrer" did represent authoritative points of view held by the SA leadership?

A. I can't understand that question.

Q. May I take it, then that, unlike"The SA Man", "The SA Fuehrer" did represent authoritative points of view?

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A. Not that either, because it was a paper for discussion, where everyone could voice his opinion. ~~The~~ It contained very few official articles which could be characterized as such. I said already that all tasks of the SA up to 1939 had been in abeyance.

Q. But writers in "The SA Fuehrer" were specialists, and speaking of their own subjects.

MR. McILWRAITH: He has already given a list of articles in ~~the~~ "The SA Fuehrer" which were official, ~~in preference~~ as opposed to those which were not.

~~MR. MARECCO:~~ lol Jones: I am sorry; I was not here when that took place. I just want to ask him one question more.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XX~~ MR. McILWRAITH: They could be read out to you, if you like.

~~MR. MARECCO:~~ lol Jones: No; that will not be necessary.

~~BY MR. MARECCO:~~ By lol Jones:

~~X~~ Q. Do you remember in October and December, 1936, the appearance of some articles about the Reiterkorps?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you remember who wrote those articles?

A. I have answered this question before. Here it was an SA fuehrer, a sturmfuehrer, who wrote these articles--a former Austrian captain of cavalry. I accepted his articles because ~~of~~ all problems pertaining to the SA Reiterkorps were unsolved. Partly the articles by this captain were not taken seriously, partly they were derided; but they provoked discussions, and that was the purpose of them.

Q. Was the writer himself a member of the Reiterkorps?

A. I don't know; I don't ~~know~~ believe so.

Q. Surely you inquired whether he was a member of the Reiterkorps?

A. No; these articles came to the editorial staff because the cavalry captain was in need of money.

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Q. Surely you weren't so irresponsible that you published articles by people who hadn't the slightest idea of what they were talking about?

A. It wasn't such a significant article within the SA that we paid special attention to it. These articles were considered oddities.

Q. A witness has told the Commission that those articles you published in 1936 were a complete misrepresentation of SA Reiterkorps policy. Do you think he was speaking the truth when he said that?

A. I believe that.

Q. Did you know when you published those articles that they were a complete misrepresentation of Reiterkorps policy?

A. No; I didn't know it.

Q. When you published those articles, you thought that they were a true representation of the activities of the Reiterkorps, did you not?

A. This was a problem which could be looked at from both sides. It was an internal publication where the SA fuehrer could discuss his own problems.

Q. "The SA Fuehrer" had a pretty wide distribution throughout the SA, did it not?

A. Yes; but only in the SA leadership, and not with the SA man.

Q. I suppose it is inconceivable, is it not, that "The SA Fuehrer", bearing articles about the Reiterkorps, wasn't brought to the attention of members of that corps?

A. Yes. They were to be shown to them. They were supposed to provoke discussion. Anyone could say in "The SA Fuehrer" what he thought.

Q. For instance, "The SA Fuehrer", with articles about the Reiterkorps, must have been seen by the leaders of the Reiterkorps?

A. Yes; we received many letters of objection which were transferred to the competent professional experts to deal with.

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- - Q. What was the nature of the letters you received. Was it the kind of discussion you intended to provoke in those articles?

A. Yes. They contained such discussions; partly they agreed, and to a great extent they didn't. I also know that we received letters containing reproaches that those articles could appear in the "The SA Fuehrer."

Q. Did you receive a letter from Litzmann criticizing you for writing such articles about the Reiterkorps?

A. I do not recall whether I received anything from Litzmann himself. But I received mail from the, at that time, leadership office; and we, ourselves, in leadership conferences, discussed it--that such articles were to be published only after they were fairly clarified.

Q. I want to be quite clear about this. After the appearance of those articles, they were widely discussed by members of the Reiterkorps, were they not?

A. No; in a wide circle there were seven or eight letters which the editorial staff received.

Q. But they provoked the discussions which you intended?

A. Yes.

Q. They didn't provoke vehement protest that you were misrepresenting the policy of the Reiterkorps?

A. To a great extent, they were protests.

Q. If I understood you, the protest was against the ideas that the articles put forward--not against their appearance?

A. No; they were against the ideas.

Q. And there was no official protest from Litzmann, and Lutze, that you were entirely misrepresenting the policy of the Reiterkorps?

A. No; it was an article for thepurpose of the discussion. Litzmann and Lutze personally did nothing about it. They left the clarifying to the SA and

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the schools, etc.

Q. Did Lutze ever order "The SA Man" and "The SA Fuehrer" to be used as a basis or as aid for SA training?

A. I do not believe that Lutze issued such an order. I, myself, have only pointed toward "The SA Man" in soliciting, as I state again.

MR. McILWRAITH: Is there any more cross-examination?

COLONEL ORLOV: One question.

BY COLONEL ORLOV:

Q. Do you think that, if something criminal, or very harmful, appeared in any paper, you could reprint it without any responsibility on your part?

A. I can only answer this way: I must know what was the purpose of another paper's publishing such criminal matters.

Q. The question is clear. Some papers has printed something entirely criminal. You have reprinted it. Is that right, or not?

A. It is a question of whether it was criminal.

Q. Perhaps it is an incitement to crime.

A. I do not believe that papers would contain such things.

MR. McILWRAITH: Answer the question. If something published was criminal, would you reprint it?

WITNESS: No, I would not.

MR. McILWRAITH: Is there any re-examination?

DR. ASCHENAUER: No questions.

(The Commission adjourned at 1705 hours.)

The foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the testimony of FRIEDRICH KLAEHN taken on 8 July 1946.

Evelyn M. Roberts
Reporter

Reporter

CERTIFIED TO:

Commissioner

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OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF TESTIMONY FOR THE DEFENSE OF ORGANIZATIONS, TAKEN BEFORE A COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE ORDER OF THE TRIBUNAL DATED 13 MARCH 1946.

COMMISSIONER:

Mr. I. D. McIlwraith

The S. A.

The commission convened at 1400 hours.

Mr. Friedrich Klaehn, a witness, took the stand, was sworn and testified as follows:

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Dr. Aschenauer, this witness has been examined and cross examined, has he not?

DR. ASCHENAUER:

No, he has not been fully questioned yet and he has not been taken at all in the cross examination.

COL. GRIFFITH-JONES:

The position last time was that Dr. Aschenauer was putting to him various articles of the SA Mann and asking him questions on those articles. In order to save time it was suggested that the articles to which Dr. Aschenauer referred to translated and submitted as exhibits, to avoid the necessity of reading them at length. In addition it was arranged that Dr. Aschenauer and myself should see whether the prosecution was prepared to withdraw some of the exhibits that it prepared in 3050. But after consideration, the prosecution felt that in general Exhibit 3050, which consists of extracts from the newspaper, the "SA Mann" should stand with one or two exceptions about which Dr. Aschenauer was informed, and it therefore remains for Dr. Aschenauer to continue his examination, presumably making use of the documents which he is going to refer to and I imagine have now been translated.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Thank you. Dr. Aschenauer, will you continue?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

The articles on vital space have been withdrawn and I will

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not refer to them. In order to save time I am going to examine the articles on Versailles and on the Colonial problem and rectify the tendencies according to which these articles have been written. In the document of the prosecution 3050 PS, there are articles on the Versailles Treaty in connection with the prosecution charges, articles which are mentioned as articles of aggressive character. Here we see the following article of June 13, 1935 with the headline the Versailles Treaty. In this article it has been referred to only to a peaceful solution of the problem of the solution of the Treaty but not to any solution of an aggressive character.

BY COL. GRIFFITH-JONES:

I do not want to interrupt too early in the proceedings, but Dr. Aschenauer is apparently adopting the same procedure which he did before to which I objected. That is to make statements himself which are really nothing but argument. With great respect, if the meaning of these articles is in issue then Dr. Aschenauer will have his opportunity for argument upon that matter later when the case for the defense of that organization is presented before the Tribunal. The purpose of these proceedings is to examine the witness and to obtain his evidence. With great respect to Dr. Aschenauer, I will submit that that is what he ought to confine himself to during the proceedings.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

I entirely agree. Dr. Aschenauer will you ask the witness questions in his capacity as Chief of the SA publications and confine yourself to questioning him on that basis?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I want to clarify one point before I go on. I got into contact with Col. Neave and Mr. Marroco and in order to save time I have asked whether I should be permitted to submit these articles, seven articles, and submit them here to the tribunal without previously submitting them to the witness. Col. Neave accepted this point under the provisions that the quotations should not be too long. It is under these conditions that I have

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started to examine those seven articles. Should, however, the prosecution submit the entire articles, all seven of them, in German, English or any other language which of course would mean a considerable saving of time, in that case I would not have examined the articles and in that case the prosecution should have translated some hundreds of articles. Those two ways are possible and I ask the court to decide upon which way to take, but I must insist on the submitting of the full text of these volumes.

BY COL. GRIFFITH-JONES:

That I am objecting to was Dr. Aschenauer starting to make a statement as to the contents of the article, which he is not entitled to do.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I am only bringing quotations before the court but I had to give a short summary in the beginning.

BY COL. GRIFFITH JONES:

That is what I object to. Any summary.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

You see Dr. Aschenauer, you are making statements which are argument. If you summarize what you say those articles mean, that is a matter of argument. Now if you will refer to your articles and then ask your witness his views, you may go on.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I quite agree, but I will not ask any questions of the witness in connection with those articles.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Very well, you may proceed.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

I quote now under the title from the Versailles Treaty, "Versailles Dictate", article of June 20, 1934, page 15, the following article: "It is only he who has not taken part in a new war who can play around with the waves of flame of this new war. On the Geneva Disarmament Conference, in their decision of Decem-

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ber 12, 1932, England, France and Italy have substantially granted and formally accepted the equal rights of Germany in this respect. Even if it is true that on our side we do not have the power and the might but the right, and it is a very pleasing fact that this right is now being recognized by leading men of other nations in public." In the volume of 1935 of the SA Mann I read under the 19 January 1935 the following article, page 13, "Versailles after Fifteen Years - A peace which was not really a peace but which had led to a perpetration of hatred between the people." In a special section of this article the editor examines how far the process of dissolution of this dictate has gone on already and how far the permanent action of historic forces have entered this dictate. "Those forces which undermine and break down the building of the Versailles Treaty, it is a main factor of these forces which are the political and economic positions between the victorious parties. It is too right that Schwendemann can state that the battle for the revision of the Versailles Treaty 15 years after its coming into power has already sustained substantial advantages, those advantages are the freeing of the Rhineland and the diminishing of the war tributes. On the other hand the coming back of the Versailles Treaty is bound to come in a very short time."

In Tome 1937, article of January 30 1937, pages 12 and 13, I quote: "The material for a permanent conflict which had been created for obvious reasons by the establishment of the Polish Corridor between Germany and Poland. This reason for conflicts was put aside and viewed by intelligent matters managed to foresee coming developments by the National Socialist Government of Germany. By declaration of January 26 1934, according to which there should be direct negotiations from one state to the other during a period of ten years under direction of any measure of force by this declaration farreaching dissensions in the German-Polish relations between both parties was achieved. On January 13, 1935, the people of Versailles voted with an over-

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sholming majority of 95½ % for the return to the German fatherland and so thus later reasons for conflicts between France and Germany was put out of the way. Rearmament, which had become effective in connection with the resumption of the German armament independence brought about the free agreement between Germany and the British Empire which led on June 18, 1935, to the Anglo-German Naval Agreement which established and fixed the respective power of both parties in a reasonable proportion and which at the same time meant the first pass toward disarmament because of the idea of disarmament only in the sense of the idea then excludes a raise for rearmament." Last quotation on the theme of the Treaty of Versailles, article of February 13, 1937, page 4, under the title "Versailles is Being Liquidated", I quote: "The four years of planning will enable us and give us the power to maintain this economic sovereignty for the good of our people and for the best in the relations from one people to the other." Article on the Colonial problem, Tome 1936 of the SA Mann dated October 10, 1936, page 15, under the title "Our Right, Our Colonies", I quote: "In his proclamation at the Reichsflagge of the Oberland the Fuehrer has once again in public before all the world reaffirmed and given the reasons for the claims of the German right to hold colonies. Rights will always remain rights and even the whole world will come to the conclusion at a certain time that right has to be given effect." Extracts of the Chapter "What the World Says": "The former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Viscount Philip Snowden, declares, "Great Britain is by no means interested in resisting the German claims for colonies". "The Minister of Finance of the South African Union, Oswald Pirow, says: "In this way I may express the hope that Germany may soon become again a Colonial power and a Colonial power in Africa." Extracts from shadows of from the time of the Treaty of Versailles. I quote Col. Edward M. House: "Could this purpose not be stopped by returning to the enemy his former colonies?" Quoting the

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French officer Jean Finut: "If England would give an example of great self-sacrifice to the whole world." In Tome 1937 again of the SA Mann of January 2, 1937, page 4, I quote, under the title "Colonies for Germany": "The speech by Von Ribbentrop and the essay by Dr. Schacht have started again abroad a very vivid argument on the Colonial Problem and have brought it into the spotlight but there are voices of intelligent men who backed the German claims which they have recognized as being justified. Let us quote only two examples. A reader writes to the Editor of theLondon Times that the speech

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of Von Ribbentrop in the Anglo-German fellowship society should remaind everybody that the so often brought up question of the German colonial claims should not be permanently set aside."

Article of December 18, 1937, page 7, under the title " Our right to Colonies", I quote: "In these last months in all important countries of the world arguments or debates has been started as one sees on the German Colonial claims. It is the fuehrer who has thought about the beginning of those arguments by his great speech on the Braden [illegible]. It should be interesting now to hear the voices of some of the states which have taken part in the discussions, some of those states who administer our German colonies under former mandates. In these last days persons important politically, as Sarraut, have declared that should one want a European cooperation in the Black Africa one should give back to Germany the place that is owed to her as a great nation. Since a couple of weeks ago the Times publishes a certain number of letters from leading politicians which take opposition to the German Colonial claims. I'll now pass on to the questions.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

You have said you are not asking questions of the witness on these articles.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Yes, I have declared that but I will ask other questions.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

Q Mr. Klaehn, why did you [illegible] the publishing of "SA Mann"?

A I have been in favor of this publication, the "SA Mann", on orders of the Chief of Staff because this publication was to become the intermediary between the Chief of Staff and the SA man. The paper was meant originally for that purpose but we did not achieve this aim. It was just through an extensive recruiting and outspreading of this paper the "SA Mann" that the Chief of Staff hoped to give a better reason for the importance of this paper. I have declared that the higher direction of the SA was not responsible for the publication of this paper but it meant to become responsible in order to give to the SA men directives according to which they could work, but the editors maintained their independence by all means while the Chiefs of the SA wanted to be responsible for a paper which was published in their name. Therefore, there were arguments in this direction which were not concluded at the beginning of the war. I mention only the question of instruction as a conflict.

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At recruiting the editors of the chief direction of the SA had granted as a sort of counter activity a page on instructions but before the Chiefs of the SA could print the material for this publication the editors brought already on their own responsibility pages on instruction of which they considered there was a general interest for that. But these things did not coincide with the directives given by the upper direction of the SA. The editors brought such pages as rearming with motorcycles, a matter with which the direction of the SA had no concern. Or they brought reprints from half military publications which were to be purchased in the book shops. These again were matters which were of no concern to the SA direction. But the editors declared that these publications were read with much pleasure not only in the SA but in other circles.

Q Why has there been propaganda in other papers for disarmament?

A The propaganda material was sent by the editors automatically to all papers which were under the control of these publishing houses. The propaganda was meant for financial reasons.

Q The prosecution submits as a proof for the terror, the article in the "SA Mann" on the 9th November 1923 under the title "Who has Executed in Nurnberg the Unlucky Attempt of a Putsch on the 9 November 1923."?

A At that time the SA had not importance yet. The attempted putsch was made by the Reichsflagge and the Oberland. I have heard that repeated by eyewitnesses. Later on members of those organizations have, nearly all of them, entered the SA and it may be for that reason that the author of that article either was a victim of a dissillusion or meant to emphasize his own person by a description which was not in line with the actual facts. Especially as that article seems to have been published only 12 years after the events.

Q Prosecution states that it had been the task of the SA to provoke an anti-Jewish feeling in the publication, a feeling without which the execution of those crimes could not have been possible. As proof for the careful and definite planning by the SA of those crimes, the prosecution has submitted the following documents: An article published on July 27, 1935, by Loeschke "Finished with the Jews." Furthermore an article of February 2, 1935 "Jewish Threat to the World." Finally, an article published on July 20, 1935, under the title "Jewish Worries", which brings an argument of a Hans Peter Hermel against the Jewish family paper published on June 24, 1935. What

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can be said about those articles?

A Apart from the fact that the Chiefs of the SA were not responsible for those articles, the higher chiefs of the SA had on their own refused many of those articles because they did not fit in the frame of education and instruction for the SA. The Supreme Command of the SA has dealt with the Jewish problem only in so far as this problem dealt with the party program and was regulated by laws and decrees. In this connection I have to emphasize that the Supreme Command of the SA has never been in favor of extermination of the Jews. We thought only that we were to fight against the influence and intervention of the Eastern Jews into our cultural life and economic system. Especially the influence of those Polish Jews who have entered Germany after 1920 and who took advantage of the misery of the German people.

Q Furthermore, the prosecution submits articles such as "Jews are not Wanted"; "God Saves the Jews"; "The Face of the Jew, Negroes, Reactionaries and the Hidden Baryaim." Furthermore, articles of Hermel, Rudolf and others. In this connection I ask the following questions: were those articles in favor in a wide circle of the SA?

A I have already mentioned that the Supreme Command of the SA has several times opposed those articles as well as myself as the Chief at that time of the Instruction Section of the SA Oberfuehrer von Neufeld and the chief at that time of the Reich Leader School of the SA, Dr. Bennecke, and Chief of Instruction AMT of the Supreme Command of the SA Luyken. They had backed me in this opposition. Of course I cannot recall all of the different articles but I know several of the authors as, for instance, Van Rudolf, which is a pseudonym, who is known as one of those authors who write freely many things and who complete their knowledge from other books. Furthermore, I know Prof. Schwarz-Bostenetich, former professor of the University of Kiev, and his publication "Jews cannot Claim Scientific Exactitude."

Q The prosecution submits articles of the "SA Mann" and states that these articles have been meant to promote war. The following articles should be considered according to Document 3050 PS: "The Tank in the Main Countries", "Rearmament instead of Disarmament"; "The Tank with the Main Powers"; "The Army of the Soviet Union"; "The Armies of Tomorrow"; "The Task of the French Fleet"; "The Red Peril in the East"; "Red Army of Today"; "Russia is Arming for the World War." In this connection I may ask you, witness, do

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you know where those articles came from?

A As far as I have learned from the editors, those articles and the pictures have been taken from German and foreign newspapers and publications and in the larger part they come from German and foreign firms dealing with the sending of pictures. These were especially the Associated Press and firms connected with them. Their headlines were essentially brought into the picture by the editors themselves. Articles of that character and similar character were to be found very easily and very often in German and foreign newspapers of that time.

Q The prosecution submits the article "Red Imperialism Fixed." I'll hand this article over to you and ask you to establish whether it has anything to do with the European situation? The article is dated 19 June 1937.

A This article deals with the Marching of the Red Army towards Northern China and the zone of Infantry. Therefore I declare that this article has nothing to do with the European situation.

Q Has the material for this article come from the Associated Press too?

A I have no reason to doubt that.

Q Furthermore, the prosecution submits the following articles, in the volume of "SA Mann " of 1938; an article of January 26, 1938, page 30; a picture with the sub-title "Stalin Wants a World Revolution". We hope that the fire will not cease because Rudenko has already smelt the roast. Is this material of foreign origin?

A I think that it is of foreign origin too.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Have you many more questions, Dr. Aschenauer?

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Oh yes. I think I'll take another hour and a half.

BY THE COMMISSIONER:

Then we will adjourn for ten minutes.

(Commission recessed at 1520 hours)

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The Commission resumed at 1535 hours.

Q Further, the Prosecution submits an article of 18 May 1935, page 1, PS 3050, entitled "Czech Terror and German Need in Czechoslovakia." I will show you this article in order to find out whether it contains an intention of

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aggression.

A This is a factual report concerning the need of the Germans in Czechoslovakia. It tells of the fact that, in the Erzgebirge community, all children are undernourished. It shows statistics showing which illnesses have been caused by such misery. It contains a sentence by the first finance minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Raschin: "The peace treaty has given us the right to establish our institutions as if no other nations were in existence." It is simply a report of German need in the Sudetenland.

Q The Prosecution, in order to prove that the SA executed terror, submits the following articles. I am going to quote twelve headlines, and shall then ask you to examine four articles. "We Break the Red Terror", "Nocturnal Street Fight on the Czech Border", "Street Fight in Chemnitz", "Victorious SA against Sub-Humanity", "The Authority of the State", "SA Conquers Rastenburg", "Sturm 88 Repeats the Baptism of Fire", "Street Fight in Pforzheim","The SA Breaks the Red Terror", "The Bloody Sunday of Berlin", "West Prussia SA Breaks the Red Terror." I want you to examine four articles submitted by the Prosecution; first, "We Break the Red Terror." Whose terror is meant here?

A This is a story about the red terror, and it states that there was an attack by the Commune. This time it was the Red Guard who threw itself against us. Forty of our hundred and ten comrades were heavily wounded. Last Sunday the Communists announced at a meeting in Wurzen that they would not permit any Fascists to enter the West of Leipzig. There would be a proletariat reaction in store on account of this provocation, so that the Nazis and the murderers would forget to come back; and there would be no more meetings.

Q The second article is the article cited by the Prosecution entitled. "Fight on the Czech Border." Is that and article with an aggressive meaning? I mean, with aggressive intentions by the SA?

A In Oberneuschoenoberg, three of our members in the Allgemeine SS were thrown out. The audience--Communists, a great number of them--took an active part in it. Now three Party members and four SA members are being kept by force in a restaurant in our village. The red mass storms against us with stones. sticks, knives, and blunt instruments.

Q For the third article, I wish to submit "Street Fight in Obernitz."

A This article describes the attack of the Reichsbanner on the SA.

Q The last article is the one entitled "Victoriuos SA."

A The article reads, "Five hundred Marxists were present in the hall. They threw themselves at the small bunch of SA members with short knives and three-edged files: with beer bottles and chairs they pushed themselves at the SA men. Eight out of seventeen SA men are lying bleeding on the floor."

Q Who instigated publishing these articles describing the terror of the Communist Party of Germany?

A These articles were not published by request of the supreme SA leadershi Theywere the result of a contest by the editorial office which, recalling the combat days of the SA, wanted to recall the SA, particularly after the events of 30 July 1934. But, considering the thousands of meetings which the SA organi ed without any fights. these few fights described were a number which would lo themselves to generalization. Nevertheless, the content of this article is cor for I know, on the basis of my own experience, that our political enemies were not interested in an intellectual discussion of political contradictions. I kno by my own experience that the SA did not have any desire to put the discussions on a physical basis. It wanted to convince and gain the political enemies to it own point of view. It was, to a very large extent, successful in it. Of course. if SA men were attacked, they resisted.

Q I S 2471, the document submitted by the Prosecution: "Substance and Tasks of the SA." I quote from it, "Our appreciation of the race problem has nothing to do with the race hatred. A man who loves and esteems his own nation will not be able to deny his appreciation to other kinds and fashions." Did the supreme

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leadership of the SA live up to this saying by Lutøe? Did it reject the race hatred against Judaism?

A Not only on the basis of his saying; but Staff Chief Roehm and Staff Chief Lutze, both during speeches made at the Reichsfuehrerschule in Munich, stated that our attitude toward the Jews had nothing to do, per se, with race hatred.

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Q What was your concept of i ?

A We took thatattitude that the Jewish problem in Germany would have to be solved legally and on the basis of the numerous clauses I mentioned before, that the anti-Semitism of the SA extended mainly to those who had immigrated from the East. As I heard, Germans of Jewish faith who were old settlers also shared in this attitude. I heard that the well-known professor Korfu also shared in thi

Q The "SA man" contains articles against the political Catholicism. Did the ideoligcal training program contain points pertaining to the struggle against religion?

A No; the supreme SA leadership carefully remained away from any struggle against the denominations. Both confessions were represnted by a multitude of ministers in their lines. Numerous SA fuehrers and SA men were married in church. Masses and church services in the field took place, also consecration of the flags of the SA. There, ministers of both denominations officiated.

Q The so-called "fight" publications of the supreme leadership are under attack by the Prosecution, since they allegedly propagated the fight against Judaism. I will ask you in this connection two questions: How large was the edition of the "fight" publications? Was there any objection submitted to the publications of these fight publications?

A I must explain. The supreme SA leadership planned the publication of elementary matter for ideological training. The editorial staff of the "SA Man" was willing to cooperate in this plan, and it submitted a plan of its own of the "fight" publications. A comman plan was arranged with themes which corresponded to the training plan of the supreme SA leadership. The editorial board was supposed to assign the authors and to take care of the printing, while the supreme SA leadership was the responsible editor after having examined the publications. When the first publications were submitted to me in print, I found that the editorial board had not adhered to the common plan. On the contrary, it had checked

themes which had been rejected by us previously. To be careful, the publisher had issued only very small editions---a matter of a few thousand copies. Due to the objections of the supreme SA leadership, these copies were not reprinted and the rest--which had not been distributed as yet---were destroyed. Only a very few copies were distributed by the bookstores. The SA itself did not become aquainted with these fight publications. Among 1600 former SA men of the camp in Moosburg (I have circulated affidavit circular pertaining to these fight publications)---only two out of 1600 former SA men were aquainted with them. One of them was manager of a publishing house, and one of them was myself. These writings were neither known among the SA, nor were they used as training material. The publications which were planned by the SA leadership were not published before the outbreak of the war.

Q The Prosecutions uses, to confirm its charges, a book by Ernst Beyer, entitled "The SA--History, Activity, and Organization of the Sturm Detachment of the Fuehrer and of the Supreme SA Leadership." The title contains the following words, "Edited by the man of the supreme SA leadership, Dr. Ernst Beyer, with a foreword by Victor Lutze." First I shalll ask you, how did this publication happen to originate? second, I want to ask you, whether this was an authoritative publication?

A As far as I can recall, this was a dissertation for his Doctor's Degree. He submitted it to the Chief of Staff and, while doing so, he was able to get out of the chief of Staff the presemble and the foreword. The Supreme SA Leadership examined the publication; there were no objections, but not much attention was paid to the publication. The publication was a private one; Beyer was responsible. I think it was an edition of 5,000 copies. I do not know anything about the distribution by the bookstores. It was not used in the ideological training courses.

Q Pertaining to these "fight" publications, the Prosecution states: "The inciting philosophy was not limited alone to the members of the SA; on the contrary, the members of the SA were propagating these ideas into the plans of the population." Were the books by Rosenberg, the master theories of Himmler, "Der Stuermer", and the "fight" publications the basis for ideological training?

A The simple SA man did not understand the writings of Rosenberg. The SA

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man was to be educated to uncomplicated, concrete thinking. The writings of Rosenberg were not fit fot that. As far as the SA had knowledge of the master race theory of Himmler, it was rejected; it did not correspond to the substance of the SA. "Der Stuermer" was not to a great extent used as a text by the SA ; it was characterized as yellow journalism. The "fight" publications were not used by the SA.

Q What, then, was the understanding of the supreme leadership of the SA of "ideological"?

A We understood by "ideological" a sector of the training service. In the first place. it comprised education to community, then education to

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patriotism, education in a decent way of life, knowledge and following of the Party program. The SA had ten to twelve hours annually at its disposal.

Q What do the words "SA guarantor of the movement" mean?

A The SA was to guarantee the inviolability of the permanence of the movement by the German men, from generation to generation, again and again to meet in their lines and learn to esteem each other and to overcome the old faults of the German people -- class hatred and arrogance which is based on position. This was to be achieved by common service and by common experience.

Q What material was chosen for the training?

A The following were selected for the ideological training: First, the Nazi Party program, primarily in the realization of its sociological program; second, the German fatherland, its history, and its achievements; third, the life of Hitler as an example; fourth, contemporary politics. As I said before, there were ten to twelve hours annually at their disposal. The program could be executed only approximately, particularly because simultaneously men 17 and 70 years old -- university men and farmers, officers and artisans -- had to be trained. Then the program was to be executed three times, one after the other, because the average attendance percentage was only 37%.

Q What does the following mean? The fight against Marxist ideas is the basic task of the SA.

A This basic idea always concerned the gaining of the people's community; but the people's community was decisively opposed to Marxism because it represented the class struggle theory. We, however, represent the socialism of the personal achievement.

Q What does it mean, to fulfill life with National Socialist principles?

A We were of the opinion that everybody has to live according to an idea. For the SA man, this idea, firstly, was love for the fatherland, second the realization of the principles that common weal comes before selfish profits. That is also true of the smallest details in daily life. The SA man was to be of assistance to his state and to his people everywhere, out of his own convictions.

Q Were the people to become conscious of the ideological training?

A The men were not supposed to become conscious that they were being

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trained ideologically, because mature men did not care very much to be trained. The training was to be so much a part of life that all events were to be assimilated by the conceptive powers of the SA man logically and harmoniously.

Q If the "fight" publications were not an educational basis, why did one say "We expect the comrades to take notice of these articles and to see to it that they are distributed widely"?

COLONEL ORLOV: I believe that the witness should answer more briefly. We are here speaking of the crimes committed by the SA, and we are speaking praise of the SA.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I wish to call your attention to the fact that, up until now, I have only asked questions which emanated from documents submitted by the Prosecution. They are based 85% on the documents submitted by the Prosecution.

MR. McILWRAITH: Can't you make the witness answer as shortly as possible?

DR. ASCHENAUER: I am trying to be as brief as possible.

A The editorial board wrote this preface on its own initiative. The supreme leadership of the SA had nothing to do with it.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q The Prosecution alleges to have found that the SA was eagerly busy in propagating "Der Stuermer". As a proof, it submits a picture from the publication "The SA Man" which depicts an automobile. The passengers are SA men, and there is a band on the auto which reads "Read 'Der Stuermer'." Furthermore, there is a picture submitted by the Prosecution; this picture depicts a bunch of SA men sitting down, and again on the back there is a propaganda sign saying, "Read Der Stuermer." What do you have to say to that?

A The greater part of the SA rejected "Der Stuermer". The "Nordmark" group prohibited soliciting subscriptions for "Der Stuermer" because the paper was alleged to contradict the moral sense of the SA man. The pictures submitted can only be older shots from a time when every SA man still thought he was serving the cause in his individual way.

Q The Prosecution uses Hitler's "Mein Kampf" as part of its exhibit. The charges read "This book was the basis of the training". What do you have to say

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to that?

A The book did not form, in all parts, a basis for training. We only took out of the book the National Socialist documents and reports about the life of Hitler. The material pertaining to exterior policies was not used because they might have been, and were, subject to changes.

Q Did Adolf Hitler, in issuing a directive pertaining to his book "Mein Kampf", to the Eher Verlag say that nothing was to be changed in the first edition (1925-1927), even though the text might be antiquated?

A Yes. The publishing house informed me that they had received such a directive. The Fuehrer is also said to have stated to Ambassador Ponci, in answer to a question, "I will not change my book. It emanated from the humiliation of Versailles, and history will make the corrections."

Q Does the book, "Mein Kampf", have obligatory and binding significance?

A It is my opinion that the book could not be, in all of its parts, of binding and obligatory significance.

Q Does the Organizations Book actually depict correctly the organization structure of the Party or of the SA?

A The book depicts a desirable situation which was changing occasionally and did change; but one tried to achieve this situation. As far as I know, it is not an official publication. It is official only for the Reichs organization leadership.

Q What was the significance of the publication, "The SA Fuehrer" within the SA?

A I am able to give exact information pertaining to this publication, since I myself founded it, and because I was its editor for years. My basic principle, and also that of the editorial staff, was the voicing of opinions of the SA leadership regarding the tasks and duties of the SA and also regarding questions pertaining to the execution of the service. Those were all questions which remained fluid until the outbreak of the war. After 30 June 1934, the SA had no visible concrete tasks -- after the idea of Roehm had been destroyed. This publication was to serve the purpose of the SA leaders to discuss SA problems. The paper was a discussion publication.

MR. McILWRAITH: When was the "SA Fuehrer" founded?

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WITNESS: In the fall of 1935.

MR. McILWRAITH: And when was the witness editor of it?

WITNESS: Until 1939.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q "The SA Fuehrer" enabled every SA fuehrer to voice his opinion without being tied down by official opinions?

A The SA fuehrers used it to give each other official suggestions in order to clarify questions pertaining to their duties and their tasks.

Q What reader circle did the "SA Fuehrer" have?

A "The SA Fuehrer" was distributed down to the leaders of stuerme. It was an internal paper and destined only for the SA leaders. In April 1939, only, a second edition was created, so that outsiders would be made aware of our work. This edition, however, omitted all articles of problematical content.

Q Which articles are to be characterized as official?

A Official articles are those which are published by the educational office or headed by the administrative central office. Articles signed by myself, or by such as Luyken, could be considered semi-official. He was the chief of the centraleducation office. And also articles signed by the chief of staff, himself. But these articles were not obligatory to anyone. All other articles signed by my initials, or not at all, were not official articles.

Q Was this publication used for the training of SA leaders?

A Yes, it also served this purpose. The first section contained articles and essays by leading Party members. The SA fuehrers were to be made aware of their point of view. The second section contained problematical essays pertaining to the duties of the SA. The third part contained articles pertaining to the execution of the service, with suggestions and ideas. The fourth section contained interesting articles pertaining to history and prehistory. The fifth section contained matters which the Sturmfuehrer should know, pertaining to the sociological care of his men. Any SA fuehrer could become a contributor without paying any attention to his style of expression.

Q Though this publication was an official one, it did not always reflect official opinion?

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A No; it could not, and did not want to do so. Some discussions were included in the publication, some were left out. Most questions remained in abeyance; the letter was transferred to the competent offices most of the time.

Q Did "The SA Fuehrer" also publish articles of military content?

A Not exactly military articles, but articles written by military men. Particularly in the area of education, there were certain points of contact. Frequently there were arguments here.

MR. McILWRAITH: The Commission has ruled that the hearing of each witness should not be more than three hours. The cross-examination of this witness must begin soon, if it is to be finished by five o'clock.

DR. ASCHENAUER: May I point out that exceptions are permissible. Before me there was always an exception. Considering that Dr. Best was cross-examined for a good four hours.

MR. McILWRAITH: That is no reason why this witness should take longer than three hours. You have today already taken about two and a half hours. When the witness was last heard I don't know for how long he was heard, but the three hours are only extended by the Commissioner for good reason. I should be glad if you would finish this in about five minutes.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I want to point out that the SA has applied for the least number of witnesses. For this reason, I should consider it a limitation of the defense if no exception were made here.

MR. McILWRAITH: The number of witnesses you bring has nothing whatever to dowith the time you take. You said you would need about an hour and a half when we had a recess. Now, can you finish in five minutes, or can you not?

DR. ASCHENAUER: I have five more questions.

MR. McILWRAITH: Well, you can shorten the answers; the answers are longer than necessary.

DR. ASCHENAUER: I can try to shorten them.

MR. McILWRAITH: Will you please continue.

BY DR. ASCHENAUER:

Q Will you finish the answer to the question pertaining to certain articles of military content which are to be found in your papers.

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A The problem arose pertaining to obedience. We presented the voluntary obedience because of conviction. The Wehrsport could not do anything with that.

Q Your statements indicate that the publication, "The SA Fuehrer" did not serve warlike aims, and that the SA was not thinking of any aggressive war. How can you prove that?

A The chief of staff and Hitler preached to us often enough regarding peace, and we believed it. In 1939, at a conference of chiefs of offices, the chief of staff, in response to a question answered, "Nonsence; there will be no war." We also knew, from the peacetime structures of Hitler, that there was no war in view. We experienced, for instance, a naval treaty with England, and the Treaty of Munich--which we celebrated in the SA, If a war had been planned, the SA would have had to be trained in that way. That was not the case.

Q You said that other papers, too, published articles with military content--not only "The SA Man" Do you know of such newspapers?

A I want to point to the "Kreuzzeitung", the "Jungdeutsche", "Friedericus" numerous magazines published by the former Boy Scout and hiking associations--all of which published such articles before 1939. "The NSKK Man" was publishing such articles.

Q The Prosecution charges that "The SA Man" contained several articles pertaining to the Mounted SA--signed by a certain Ment. The Prosecution characterized such articles as war-inciting.

A These articles were written by a former Austrian cavalry captain. We published them because the problem of the SA Riding Corps was still in abeyance, in order to initiate discussions. The articles were written very poorly, and very exaggeratedly, and they were only for the SA internally. To a great extent, they were accepted with humor; and they were characterized as something rather odd.

Q I am at the end of my questions. I want to point, however to the fact that I will have the articles pertaining to military sports discussed by the next witness.

This declaration is already to be found in the records.

MR. MCILWRAITH: Very well. Is there any cross-examination?

COL JONES: I have some questions, sir, but I shall not be more than five

minutes.

MR MCILWRAITH: Would you like to finish them today?

COL JONES: Yes.

BY COL JONES

Q Who was the publisher of "The SA Man?

A Zentralverlag.

Q That was the official publishing house of the Party, was it not?

A Yes.

Q Under the title, "The SA Man" was written" the official publication of the SA" That is so, is it not?

A That was the intention, but it wasn't so in practice.

Q How do you account for the presence of those words, if it wasn't so in fact?

A When this paper was established, the intention was to make it an officia one, but, because the editor was not a member of the SA leadership, and was n paid by the SA leadership--but by the publishing house--it developed into a paper not belonging to the SA.

Q You have told us that the SA leadership was constantly striving to obtai control of "The SA Man" and that they never succeeded in doing so.

A They did not succeed.

Q In those circumstances, why did the SA leadership allow the words, "the official publication..."to continue being printed on issues of the paper?

A It wanted to aquire possession of the paper, and if it would have put pressure on it so that this disappeared, the paper would have died immediately.

Q Didn't Lutze object to this continuous expression of unofficial views under the word "official"?

A Yes; Lutze expressed that to me and higher officials of the SA leaders.

Q Then why didn't he take steps either to stop publication entirely, or to withdraw official patronage from it?

A The paper had originated under the most difficult circumstances. Hitler at the time did not agree to it, if the chief of staff had said that he did no wish to have the paper appear in such and such a form, Hitler would have said the SA would be without a paper altogether. They were always looking for a reas

to do away with the paper.

Q Wouldn't that have been better than a continuous misrepresentation of SA policy thriughout the years?

A Yes; we always tried, and always hoped, to get the paper.

Q You say Hitler eventually closed the paper down himself. So, clearly, Hitler was willing that the paper should be closed down. Why didn't Lutze do it earlier, if he considered that the editor of the paper was misrepresnting SA policy?

A It was the only opportunity for the supreme SA leadership and the SA man to talk directly.

Q I wnt to ask you two or three questions about "The SA Fuehrer." You told us that you started "The SA Fuehrer" in 1935 as a volume for the discussion by senior SA officers on matters of common interest.

A Yes.

Q May I take it, then, that, unlike "The SA Man", "The SA Fuehrer" did represent authoritaive points of view held by the SA leadership?

A I can't understand that question.

Q May I take it, then that, unlike "The SA Man, "The SA Fuehrer" did represent authoritative points of view held by the SA leadership?

A Not that either, because it was a paper for discussion, where everyone could voice his opinion. It contained very few official articles which could be characterized as such. I said already that all tasks of the SA up to 1939 had been in obeyance.

Q But writers in "The SA Fuehrer" were specialists, and speaking of their own subjects.

MR MCILWRAITH: Ae has already given a list of articles in "The SA Fuehrer" which were official, as opposed to those which were not?

COL JONES: I am sorry: I was not here when that took place. I just want to ask him one question more.

MR MCILWRAITH: They could be read out to you, if you like.

COL JONES: No; that will not be necessary.

BY COL JONES:

Q Do you remember in October and December. 1936, the appearance of some

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articles about the Reiterkorpes?

A Yes.

Q Can you remember who wrote these articles?

A I have never answered this question before. Here it was an SA fuehrer, a sturmfuehrer, who wrote these articles--a former Austrian captain of cavalry I accepted his articles because all problems pertaining to the SA Reiterkorps were unsolved. Partly the articles by this captain were not taken seriously, partly they were derided; but they provoked discussions, and that was the purpose of them.

Q Was the writer himself a member of the Reiterkorps?

A I don't know; I don't believe so.

Q Surely you inquired whether he was a member of the Reiterkorps?

A No; these articles came to the editorial staff because the cavalry captain was in need of money.

Q Surely you weren't so irresponsible that you published articles by people who hadn't the slightest idea of what they were talking about?

A It wasn't such a significant article within the SA that we paid special attention to it. These articles were considered oddities.

Q A witness has told the Commission that those articles you published in 1936 were a complete misrepresentation of SA Reiterkorps policy. Do you think he was speaking the truth when he said that?

A I believe that.

Q Did you know when you published those articles that they were a complete misrepresentation of Reiterkorps policy?

A No; I didn't know it.

Q When you published those articles, you thought that they were a true representation of the activities of the Reiterkorps, did you not?

A This was a problem which could be looked at from both sides. It was an internal publication where the SA fuehrer could discuss his own problems.

Q "The SA Fuehrer" had a pretty wide distribution throughout the SA, did it not?

A Yes; but only in the SA leadership, and not with the SA man.

Q I suppose it is inconceivable, is it not, that "The SA Fuehrer", bearing

articles about the Reiterkorps, wasn't brought to the attention of members of that corps?

A Yes. They were to be shown to them. They were supposed to provoke discussion. Anyone could say in "The SA Fuehrer" what he thought.

Q For instance, "The SA Fuehrer" with articles about the Reiterkorps, must have been seen by the leaders of the Reiterkorps?

A Yes, we received many letters of objection which were transferred to the competent professional experts to deal with.

Q What was the nature of the letters you received. Was it the kind of discussion you intended to provoke in those articles?

A Yes. They contained such discussions; partly they agreed, and to a great extent they didn't. I also know that we received letters containing reproaches that those articles could appear in the "SA Fuehrer."

Q Did you receive a letter from Litzmann criticizing you for writing such articles about the Reiterkorps?

A I do not recall whether I received anything from Litzmann hinself. But I received mail from the, at the time, leadership office, and we, ourselves, in leadership conferences, discussed it--that such articles were to be published only after they were fully clarified.

Q I want to be quite clear about this. After the appearance of those articles they were widely discussed by members of the Reiterkorps, were they not?

A No; in a wide circle there were seven or eight letters which the editorial staff received.

Q But they provoked the discussions which you intended?

A Yes.

Q They didn't provoke vehement protest that you were misrepresenting the policy of the Reiterkorps?

A To a great extent, they were protests.

Q If I understood you, the protest was against the ideas that the articles put forward--not against their appearance?

A No; they were against the ideas.

Q And there was no official protest from Litzmann, and Lutze, that you were entirely misrepresenting the policy of the Reiterkorps?

A No; it was an article for the purpose of the discussion. Litzmann and

Lutze personally did nothing about it. They left the clarifying to the SA and the schools etc.

Q Did Lutze ever order "The SA Man" and "The SA Fuehrer" to be used as a basis or as aid for SA training?

A I do not believe that Lutze issued such an order. I, myself, have only pointed toward "The SA Man" in soliciting, as I state again.

MR MCILWRAITH: Is there any more cross examination?

COLONEL ORLOV: One question.

BY COLONEL ORLOV:

Q Do you think that, if something criminal, or very harmful, appeared in any paper, you could reprint it without any responsibility on your part?

A I can only answer in this way: I must know what was the purpose of another paper's publishing such criminal matters.

Q The question is clear. Some papers printed something entirely criminal. You have reprinited it. Is that right or not?

A It is a question of whether it was criminal.

Q Perhaps it is an incitement to crime.

A I do not believe that Papers would contain such things.

MR MCILWRAITH: Answer the question. If something published was criminal, would you reprint it?

WITNESS: No I would not.

MR MCILWRAITH: Is there any re-examination?

DR. ASCHENAUER: No questions.

(The Commission adjourned at 1705 hours.)

The foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the testimony of FRIEDRICH KLAEHN taken on 8 July 1946.

Eveleyn M.Roberts
Reporter

D.J.Noll
Reporter

CERTIFIED TO: Mr. McIlwraith
Commissioner

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